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THE TREATY IN PARLIAMENT.

There is nothing in our mode of government equal to the ordeal which an English administration has to face, when some chapter in its policy not hitherto before Parliament has to be discussed and criticized before that powerful tribunal. It is this tribunal before which Lord Beaconsfield and Salisbury have now to bring the treaty of Berlin; to elucidate its provisions and their bearings on all objections, and, in short, to reconcile everything in it with that intricate conflict of opinion which has always to be encountered when a new subject is to be presented before a large body of thinking men.

Before discussing the probable result of this ordeal it will be necessary to premise some description of the different modes in which treaties are negotiated by the British Government and by the United States. It is well known that the President in this country cannot negotiate a treaty with a foreign power which is valid before being submitted to the Senate in Executive Committee and confirmed by that body. There is no such provision in England. The plenipotentiaries of that nation under the direction of the Cabinet can negotiate a treaty which, by the advice of the Cabinet, can be signed by the Sovereign, and then it becomes a valid contract without further ratification. But if so, it will be asked what becomes of the responsibility of the Cabinet to Parliament. The answer to that question can only be given by describing what is now going on in the British Parliament. As soon as the deliberations closed in the Radzwill palace at Berlin, Lord Beaconsfield and Salisbury hastened back to London, Salisbury, the younger man, beating the Premier by one day. He was scarcely in London before he was in his seat in the House of Lords, and had given a brief *expose* of the main drift and purpose of the two treaties just negotiated, the one with Turkey alone, the other with Turkey alone. Parliamentary warfare did not commence, however, until Lord Beaconsfield arrived and reported. It will amuse our readers when we give a copy of his speech (we will not do so till a copy more reliable than the telegraphic abstract reaches us) to observe how gravely defensive his position is as compared with his peculiarly incisive and aggressive manner before the Berlin Conference. It is the manner of a man who is conscious that he cannot afford to lose a point, that he is on his trial in a matter which, as regards his political career, is life and death to him. It is also curious to observe that his defensive positions are taken to meet the charges of not having done enough for Turkey, whereas the main position of the opposition party (as represented by Messrs. Gladstone, Bright and Forster) was that he had done too much for her, and ought to have joined with Russia in annihilating her. This indicates that he is more anxious to propitiate the extreme of his own party than the recognized opposition, which he apparently treats as not worth much powder and shot. One point is quite clear in both his speech and that of Lord Salisbury, that the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is only so far an object with him as it is still capable of serving as a bulwark against the extension of the Russian Empire southward in such a manner as to threaten the communications of England with her empire in Asia.

But we do not propose at present to give any analysis or estimate of this speech; the whole subject can be more satisfactorily handled when the debate now in progress is completed. What we at present aim at is to give our readers some idea of the positions of parties. These can be best estimated by a consideration of the movements of opposition. Lord Derby's speech probably indicated the main point of attack when he said the island of Cyprus was not of much value, and that the Anglo-Turkish treaty would impose considerable responsibilities on England with the contingency of being at any time involved in affairs there calling for military intervention. Incidentally he came in rather sharply collision with his brother-in-law, the Marquis of Salisbury. He intimated that he had left the Cabinet because a scheme had been started therein for seizing Cyprus, together with some position on the main land, with or without the consent of Turkey. To this assertion Lord Salisbury replied with an unqualified correction. He said that his "noble friend" had been framing new reasons for quitting the Cabinet ever since he was out of it, and that this last was palpably "untrue." Here he was called to order, and, after some altercation of a character which in this country would have been suggestive of pistols and coffee, the Marquis agreed to substitute the word "incorrect" for "untrue," and the Earl's dignity was satisfied. His leading objection, however, was an indication of the line which the opposition was to take. This line has been formulated in a resolution to be moved by the Marquis of Hartington (the official leader of the opposition) on the 29th inst. It is as follows:

Resolved, That while the House has learned with satisfaction that the troubles in the East have been terminated by the treaty of Berlin, and that this last was palpably "untrue," and here he was called to order, and, after some altercation of a character which in this country would have been suggestive of pistols and coffee, the Marquis agreed to substitute the word "incorrect" for "untrue," and the Earl's dignity was satisfied. His leading objection, however, was an indication of the line which the opposition was to take. This line has been formulated in a resolution to be moved by the Marquis of Hartington (the official leader of the opposition) on the 29th inst. It is as follows:

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been incurred without the previous knowledge of Parliament. While we think that Parliament, and if not Parliament the nation, will triumphantly sustain the policy of the Berlin treaty, we must also express the opinion that it is right for the opposition party to take the ground as a constitutional procedure, and moreover it was well taken as a piece of parliamentary tactics.

First, constitutionally. This is the form and method by which the Cabinet, or the Executive Department, is made responsible to Parliament. We have already noticed that the American method makes a treaty invalid until it is confirmed by the Senate. This answers very well in the case of our scanty dealings with foreign nations, and that, for the most part, with nations far inferior in power and importance to ourselves; but should we ever find ourselves involved in the intricate web of European diplomacy (which may our duty require), we should find ourselves utterly impracticable under such provisions. Imagine one of the nations, England for instance, to have gone into the conference at Berlin fettered with such provisos. They would have been exactly in the positions of a person who went into a game of poker with his cards open on the table while the rest had their hands concealed. To refer to the treaty after it came up would have been to publish it to the whole world, and of course, to antagonists in the game. A treaty negotiated on such terms would never have extricated England from such difficulties as surrounded her at the time, and moreover peace, in all probability, would never have resulted at all, for with conflicting and exasperated armies and navies face to face for the length of time that such negotiations must occupy, some untoward event must have precipitated a conflict. The English method to put it in your own words, would not add to a rigid responsibility; and that responsibility evidently is a formidable one. On the American plan a draft of a treaty is offered to the Senate, and, if they reject it, there is nothing to be responsible for, there is no treaty, it has fallen to the ground. But now suppose the resolutions of Lord Hartington should be carried, which would be tantamount to a condemnation of the treaty and its authors; responsible it would not yet result, for the Prime Minister would be justified in assuming that the voice of the Parliament was not the voice of the people, and on that presumption he would advise the Sovereign to dissolve Parliament and command the election of a new one. If after that the new Parliament should ratify the decision of the former one, then the Cabinet and the party which they represent could no longer hold power; they would have to resign their offices, the Extreme Liberals, as represented by Messrs. Gladstone, Forster and Bright, with probably Lord Derby reinstated in the Foreign Office. There is no action of Congress which could effect so complete a change as this.

We have now to estimate the probabilities of parliamentary action, whether Parliament will approve or condemn the treaty of Berlin and its authors, Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury. We have already said that the position of the opposition is well taken in view of a parliamentary contest. The two points insisted upon are the automatic way in which the thing was done without the concurrence of Parliament, and the future obligations and complications which it imposes upon the British nation. The former of these is always an effective consideration with the average member of Parliament, who is indignant at anything which is allowed to compromise the British Empire without his being consulted. Even in Parliament, however, this will not go for much, and before the people it will go for nothing, the one question with whom will be, "Was it a good treaty?" The other question will tell much more strongly. For some twenty years a party has been gaining great strength in England which contends that England ought to have no foreign policy, and participation in the affairs of Europe is condemned as a meddlesome policy, and especially all engagements with foreign powers are condemned which can possibly issue in an appeal to arms. This party or school of politicians has undergone remarkable fluctuations in regard to the influence it exercises over English politics. When everything is going on smoothly in Europe it is omnipotent, when any difficult complication arises, fierce struggles arise between it and what it calls the war party; but let any real danger threaten the prestige and power of England, and it shrinks instantaneously into obscurity and insignificance. It was in its full strength before the Crimean war under Lord Aberdeen's premiership, and then let inaction go so far that when the reaction came it was too late to remedy the danger without war; the Aberdeen ministry was expelled to an ignominious retreat from office and the vigorous hand of Palmerston carried the nation through the war. It was again near gaining the predominance during the Serbian rebellion which preceded the Russo-Turkish war, but when that war broke out, it began again to lose ground, and when the Turkish resistance collapsed and Russia announced her purpose of enforcing the treaty of Stefano without asking the concurrence of the other European powers, it was dismissed from the light and is now suffering a total eclipse. Messrs. Gladstone and Forster have declared their intention of pushing the controversy to a division, but they have clearly no hopes of success. Mr. Gladstone's present style of oratory is an indication of that. When he is sure of his victory there is a high, proud, disdainful tranquility in his speaking contrasting sharply with the fury when he is at bay, and at the present moment he is rabid—a sure sign that he knows he is going to be beaten. Never, in truth, was the doctrine of non-intervention less promising as a party than now, when non-intervention has so nearly imperiled England's future communications with her Asiatic Empire. The danger of a reversal of present policy is not now, but at a future period, when the excitement of the present is over and immediate danger is no longer visible, and the English people grow tired of the vigilance and effort which are necessary to their security; and then the "peace at any price" party may have a temporary resurrection and even gain the predominance until serious alarm again occurs.

That party ought really to be called the war party. Its retaining its predominance too long would be the Crimean war, and, if Mr. Gladstone had obtained control of government in 1876, there can be no doubt that England and Russia would at this moment have been engaged in an internecine war. So true it is that peace is best preserved by being always ready for war. It will not be so perhaps after the millennium, when every man being struck shall turn the other cheek, but the millennium seems to be still a long way off.

THE ANGLO-TURKISH TREATY.
Having given last week the text of the treaty of Berlin, which was the result of the conference of the great powers, we now give that of the separate treaty which the British Government was negotiating with the Ottoman Porte at the same time. This places the whole question before our readers:

ARTICLE I.—If Batum, Ardahan, Kars, or any of them, shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join his Imperial Majesty the Sultan in defending them by force of arms.

ARTICLE II.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged within the space of one month, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arm.

ARTICLE III.—It is understood between the two high contracting parties that England agrees to the following conditions relating to her participation in the administration of the island of Cyprus:

I. That a Mussulman religious tribunal (Mekhemet Sheri) shall be established in the island, which will take exclusive cognizance of religious matters, and of all affairs concerning the Mussulman population of the island.

II. That a Mussulman resident in the island shall be named by the Board of Pious Foundations in Turkey (Evkaf Dairesi) in conjunction with a delegate to be appointed by the British authorities, the administration of the property, funds and lands belonging to mosques, cemeteries, Mussulman schools and other religious establishments existing in Cyprus.

III. That England will pay to the Porte whatever is the present excess of revenue over expenditure in the island; this excess to be calculated upon the basis of the average of the last five years, stated to be 2,536 purses, to be duly verified hereafter, and to the exclusion of the property of the State and Crown lands let or sold during that period.

IV. That the Sublime Porte may freely sell and lease lands and other property in Cyprus belonging to the Ottoman Crown and state (Arazi Miriye ve Eniaki Hukumayim) the produce of which does not form part of the revenue of the island referred to in Article III.

V. That the English Government, through the Ottoman authorities, may purchase compulsorily, at fair price, land required for public improvements, or for other public purposes, and land which is not cultivated.

VI. That if Russia restores to Turkey Kars and the other conquests made by her in Armenia during the last war, the island of Cyprus will be evacuated by England, and the convention of the 4th of June, 1878, will be at an end.

TENNESSEANS IN CONGRESS.
It is interesting to observe the impression made by our Congressional Representatives in the National Capitol, and this is a sufficient reason for our reprinting the following brief allusion to our various Representatives from an article in the Washington (D. C.) Gazette.

Gen. Atkins in committee and Col. House on the floor of the House have respectively maintained a position in Congress second to that of no statesman from any part of the Union. In reference to Col. House, we may say that we have heard indications which make it probable that his high qualities will meet with a very substantial recognition in the next session. The present Speaker will certainly not be re-elected, but will be succeeded by a Western or a Southern man; if the latter, Col. House will certainly be the man selected for the office, and a better could not be chosen from any section.

The First district, at present represented by—let us see—J. H. Randolph, we believe, a Republican, will be redeemed, and Hon. Wm. McFarland or Col. C. R. Vance (whichever is nominated) will be elected. Judge McFarland was a member of the Forty-fourth Congress, and a staunch Democrat and a sterling good man.

The Second district is irretrievably Republican. Col. Thornburg, who has represented it since 1872, declines a re-election. His successor will be Judge L. C. Hook or Hon. William Rule, both Republicans.

In the Third district, Gen. George G. Dibrell has a walk-over. But few men in Congress have done more for the poor by proper legislation, was always at his post and faithful in the discharge of every duty. If his constituents study their interests as he does, they will continue him in Congress until he voluntarily retires.

Judge Bright will be unanimously returned to the Fourth district. His people appreciate their good fortune in having him as a representative. In Congress he is a representative of the gentleman of transcendent abilities.

Hon. H. V. Riddle will most likely be re-elected to the Fifth district. He makes an able and efficient member, and his people cannot do so well as to retain his faithful and enlightened services.

HON. JOHN F. HOUSE has a hold on the people of the Nashville district equal to that of any other member of Congress. He has given a front-rank position to our law of regulation of which his State may justly feel proud. Admitted Whitehouse will of course be returned from the old district formerly represented by James K. Polk, who, in his prime, was not more a favorite with his people than the gallant and glorious little champion of sound Democracy.

Gen. Atkins was never so strong with the people as now. His labors in the present Congress have been herculean in service, and productive of untold benefits to the people of the whole country. To long experience he adds great ability and a thorough devotion to the interests of the people. He will be re-elected with a vote that will commend themselves to the people by underlining one another in reference to the State debt, under the impression that the time of actual action for the State creditor, the one who will come the nearest to repudiation without saying the word outright, will gain the popular vote. We sincerely hope they are mistaken. Judge Rice is the one exception. He steadily refused to bid at the auction; his position from first to last was that the State Convention to meet next month will determine the policy of the Democratic party on that head, and that he expects to see the time of actual action for the State creditor, the one who will come the nearest to repudiation without saying the word outright, will gain the popular vote. We sincerely hope they are mistaken. Judge Rice is the one exception. He steadily refused to bid at the auction; his position from first to last was that the State Convention to meet next month will determine the policy of the Democratic party on that head, and that he expects to see the time of actual action for the State creditor, the one who will come the nearest to repudiation without saying the word outright, will gain the popular vote. We sincerely hope they are mistaken. Judge Rice is the one exception. 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